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Dishes are generally washed as soon as a meal is completed. Hot or boiling water, with or without soap, is used for dishwashing and a wet cloth used to remove grease and food particles. In traveling, dishes are washed less carefully, often being merely rinsed with hot water and allowed to dry. Washing dishes is women's work unless men are eating alone.

Beverages.[19] In the last twenty or twenty-five years the Kaska have learned the process of fermentation from white men and today frequently prepare their own wine and beer. The principal alcoholic beverages consumed by the people are malt beer, fruit wines (both of which are domestically manufactured), whiskey, and rum. The two latter beverages are surreptitiously obtained from white men. Also consumed are such alcoholic products as lemon extract, hair tonic, after shave lotion, and stomach tonic.

Malt beer is the beverage most commonly manufactured by the Indians. One can of malt, which is obtainable from local traders, with five pounds of sugar and one or two yeast cakes added to warm water produce about five gallons of beer. Sometimes a handful or two of fruit, such as raisins, oranges, or berries, is added at the time of setting the malt beer in the hope that fermentation of these will increase the alcoholic content. Fruit wines are made from raisins, prunes, dried peaches, or dried apples; rice may be added. To make five gallons of wine requires a total of ten pounds of fruit or grain, five pounds of sugar, and one or two yeast cakes. A five gallon barrel is filled close to the top with water and the mixture allowed to ferment. In summer, wines are prepared from soap berries. Any brew containing these berries, may be referred to as "bear drink" or "bear medicine."

Beer or wine is set in either a wooden barrel or in large aluminum and enamelware cooking pots. In Lower Post, brews are almost always set in the bush, away from the camp or house, in order to prevent detection by police and missionaries. When this is done, there is danger that the cold nights of autumn may interfere with the fermentation process. To prevent this, hot rocks are sometimes placed alongside the barrel, or the vessel is covered with a tarp and partially buried in the ground surrounded by hot rocks and ashes. Indians estimated that a malt beer is completely fermented in three days, while a fruit wine requires about five days to reach full alcoholic potency. Nevertheless native wines are rarely allowed to set longer than three days and beer is sometimes consumed after it has been working only twenty-four hours. The alcohol in malt beer, when given a chance to approach complete fermentation, rarely exceeds five per cent. Wines may contain up to about ten per cent of alcohol. No rigid division of labor is apparent in setting brews, women and men both preparing the beverages. In Lower Post, people rarely make more than five gallons of beer or wine at a time. At home, if visitors are present to participate in the drinking, ten or more gallons may be prepared.

The principal nonalcoholic beverages consumed are tea, coffee, and milk. Tea with sugar but without milk is the favorite daily drink of most people, strong tea being said to make a man feel strong. The beverage is brewed until quite dark and is then heavily sweetened. A house or camp generally has a ready pot of tea standing near the fire, and people drink some several times a day. Tea made with water obtained from snow is praised for its finer taste. Most families drink coffee at least once a day, generally for breakfast. It is made weak and is always taken with milk and sugar. Children alone drink milk. Evaporated milk diluted

[19] See also, Honigmann and Honigmann, *Drinking in an Indian-White Community* (1945).

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522 picking up a slim volume containing a gospel. He solemnly crossed himself and spoke the Sign of the Cross in Kaska. His friends laughed riotously.

574 Customarily visits are never exchanged across sexual lines, but rather between members of the same sex. The only exception to this rule is the fact that an elderly man will sometimes visit a camp in which a mature woman lives alone. Men and women exchange visits throughout the day, but in Lower Post there was noted a tendency for a few women (including Mildred Lang and Marie Nolan) to limit their visits to after supper.

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574 Like most sociability, pleasure in visiting comes from social proximity rather than from conversation. Although individual loquacity varies, in general people tend to say little during a visit (to the discomfort of white hosts!), the situation often resembling a roomful of disparate individuals. This constraint is lacking when members of a family visit together but grows more pronounced when comparative strangers from outside the tribal district pay a call.

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574 Hospitality is not expected as the necessary response of a host toward a visitor. In fall or winter, when visitors have come to the winter settlement from a long distance, tea is generally asked for or poured by the guest from the host's everready supply. If a traveler has brought no grub, he may be invited to eat (he is always free to help himself should there be meat in the host's camp), or he may, without shame, ask for food. A family coming to visit for sometime does not depend on such hospitality but brings its own grub, meat, and blankets. Before this food supply has been exhausted the guests will probably be gone.

576 Visitors enter a house or tent without signaling although Indians usually rap before entering a white man's cabin or speak upon approaching his tent. Formalities do not always mark the end of a visit. While some men have adopted the white pattern of calling a farewell, most people ignore this nicety and silently take their departure. A certain etiquette marks a visit which is directed toward making a request or borrowing something. Upon entering the house, the visitor stands quietly for a few minutes, perhaps paying attention to the host's children. Then the business matter of the visit is stated and when it is settled, departure is in order. If the call is made in order to return a borrowed object, like a plate, the guest always remains for several minutes after the transaction has been completed.

273 *Formal.* Beer or wine is generally made, or liquor purchased, with the intention of sharing it with close friends at a drinking party. A man is always host at such parties, which may be held in a tent or cabin or, for safety from the police, in the brush a short distance away from Lower Post. Guests are usually limited to members of the host's tribe, who have been selected by factors of reciprocity and congeniality. Occasionally a white man joins an Indian beer drink. Solitary drinking is unknown, if beer, wine, or liquor is available in quantities of a quart or more.

Everyone drinks from the same cup. The host dips the cup into the liquid (which is never strained) and hands a helping to each guest. In the case of bottled liquor, the bottle is passed around the company starting with the host. Sometimes an after-shave preparation or hair tonic is mixed with beef-iron stomach tonic and a few ounces served to each visitor in a cup. With few exceptions an Indian drinker, man or woman, drains his cup without once removing it from his mouth. The style of slow drinking (that is, sipping interspersed with conversation) is referred to as "white man's drinking" and, although encouraged by a

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few older men, meets with little response. After everybody has had a helping there may be a brief pause before the next round is begun. Servings increase in frequency and the pauses shorten as the degree of intoxication progresses. In the space between rounds, both sexes smoke many cigarettes and indulge in conversation, the nature of which quickly becomes unrestrained. Men generally outnumber women at drinking parties, although in the winter settlement the whole family drinks, even five year old children being permitted beer and wine. In general the Indian quickly shows the effects of alcohol.

Nobody is ever severely criticized for being drunk nor are there severe guilt feelings on the following day, unless under intoxication behavior occurred which the individual has cause to regret. Drunken behavior includes recklessness, quarreling, physical aggression, singing, joking, depression, and expressions of heightened sexuality. Sometimes a form of behavior occurs in which violent aggression is coupled with complete breakdown of cerebral control. We will return to this behavior later, and here discuss the more common manifestations of intoxication.

Recklessness during intoxication is illustrated by the incident of a number of boys, ranging from seventeen to twenty-one, stealing a white man's car. They blew a tire, burnt out the battery, and finally ran the vehicle into a ditch where it was abandoned. People recognize that in the extreme cold of winter, recklessness may be fatal to an intoxicated person. An older man, however, generally remains aware of this danger. Thus one Christmas Old Man saw the necessity for keeping sober while everybody was drinking. It was very cold and he feared that if everyone became intoxicated the fire would go out and the people, particularly the children, freeze while they slept without blankets. He also warned Louis Mapa, upon the latter's arrival, not to get drunk before tying the dogs and putting down brush for the animals' comfort.

Quarreling frequently occurs in the course of drinking parties but only one instance of murder under such conditions could be recalled for a period of about fifty years. Hostility rising to the surface during intoxication is quickly forgotten once the individual recovers. Sometimes there is a tendency to play down and forget all the unpleasant elements that occurred in the course of drinking and refer solely to the "fun" that was had.

While the Kaska tend to avoid sexual allusions in conversation when sober, especially in the presence of women, in drunkenness such references are readily forthcoming and the strongest obscenities or the most suggestive jokes freely uttered. Drinking is also accompanied by weakening control of direct sexual behavior and young men are often eager in soliciting coitus verbally. The sexually stimulating effect of alcohol is recognized by the Indians; although men condone this effect in themselves, they believe it wrong for girls and women to drink. Intoxicated women get "too crazy," they say.

Drinkers are reluctant to end their intoxication and when one batch of beer or wine has been exhausted eagerly inquire into the whereabouts of another. Usually this search fails and men end up producing money for bootleg whiskey or extracts and hair tonics. Only rarely does a woman like Mrs. Man put aside a few bottles of the beverage for use in recuperating from the effects of hangover. Mrs. Man's tendency is known, however, and men, after finishing a batch of brew quickly beg her permission to tap the hidden cache.

Potlatch. Apart from Christmas parties tendered to children by the missionaries, the

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youths have improvised words to "Wabash Cannonball" which contain the refrain "Yukon cannonball." The prevailing theme of most of these songs is nostalgia, expressed as a longing for a loved and remembered place or an idealized woman. When played by the Indians, all of these melodies are transposed to a minor key, which further accentuates the nostalgic quality of the words and music. An undercurrent of gaiety and vivaciousness is introduced by the four-fourths time in which the tune is rendered. A number of people also own portable phonographs (locally called "gramophones") on which a variety of music, ranging from reels to ballet, is played.

Young men sometimes improvise short songs around commonplace activities. These are also sung in a minor key. Thus Nitla, while preparing to go hunting, sang of how he was going to get a moose. Song composition becomes freer when young men are intoxicated. Drunk in Old Man's camp one night, Peter Tom strummed his guitar and improvised a song around an incident that had occurred earlier that day. The words went:

> I spit blood this morning
> I don't want to die.
> Ole-o-lady o . . . [yodling].

Dancing. One of the most popular recreational features are the dances marking summer evenings in Lower Post. Early in the summer, with many young people in town, such dances are held almost nightly. They are attended principally by young people, married or single, and by one or two white men. When the American soldiers were in the Kaska area a number showed up at these dances until the Army declared Lower Post out of bounds. The music is furnished by a violinist and one or two guitarists. Dances begin around midnight, when it is starting to get dark, and may continue to three or four o'clock in the morning. Later in the summer, as the nights get longer, dances start earlier. When a group of people want to dance they first ask the recognized musicians to play. The players receive no remuneration for their entertainment, although soldiers and white men sometimes collect a purse for them. The next task is to find a place to dance. River Joe's home, an unfinished trading store, and a deserted bunkhouse belonging to one of the trading companies were all well regarded as dance houses in 1944-45. Most of the time such accommodations are made available without charge; several times, however, River Joe sought to collect money from visitors attending dances in his house. He defended his behavior by speaking of the public dance hall at Teslin Lake to which admission is charged. Few people paid the requested fifty cents.

After a dance has been announced people congregate outside the building, while the players take their places at the back of the house near a lamp or candle. Several tunes go undanced before sufficient dancers venture inside the house or before people feel relaxed enough to go on the floor. Boys who have been drinking get the dancing underway more quickly, the availability of liquor, beer, or wine always making a more spontaneous and lively party. Within the dance house, the sexes line up along opposite walls of the building. When a man wishes to select a partner, he crosses the room and stops before the girl of his choice. She rises and, looking away from her partner, begins to dance with him. A girl continues to avert her face throughout the dance. The man holds his partner lightly and

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535 rarely is there any conversation between the couple. When the music has stopped, the girl turns swiftly and returns to her place while the man joins his friends across the room or else stands outside the building until the next number is begun. Sometimes women too go outside. Men frequently dance while wearing their hats and, unless it is very warm, girls continue to wear their coats. Both sexes often dance holding an unfinished cigarette in their hands. In form, Kaska dancing may be described as a one-step, but some men in leading proceed in a monotonous walk-like step that has earned the soldiers' approbation, "Lower Post shuffle." The Tahltan do a square dance, but few Kaska Indians know this form. Waltzes are rarely played and are not well danced. White trappers when intoxicated are fond of introducing a variant of the one step. Calling, "woodpecker!" they execute the step by banging the heels forcefully on the floor instead of shuffling. Intoxicated young Indian men sometimes dance in this manner, and drunken musicians create considerable amusement by speeding up the tempo of playing, forcing everyone to dance rapidly. Occasionally a white man will fiddle for a dance. His playing is slower than the Indians' and he frequently interchanges the one step with waltzes, schottisches, and polkas to which the natives do not dance confidently.

[273] [571] One of the primary sources of enjoyment in dancing comes from the movement and rhythm. There are, however, other functions of a dance which contribute to its popularity. The first of these is the excitement which, even without the aid of alcohol, serves to break down the emotional remoteness of the people and, like the gambling games, leads to some [832] of the most intensive social interaction in the society. Dances are also popular because they are among the few situations facilitating sexual interaction. Soldiers and civilian construction workers employed on the Alaska Highway recognized this function and often utilized dances to recruit Indian girls for sexual purposes. Complaints by traders and missionaries led the provincial and Mounted Police to pay surprise visits to dances and order out of town all strangers found there. Indian dances are also visited by the police to detect evidence of [656] drinking. Dances found in progress after midnight, Saturday, are ordered closed under the terms of a provincial law forbidding Sunday dancing.

525 *Gambling.* In contrast to dancing, not much time is spent in gambling. Card games, such as poker and blackjack, are played during the summer and winter but are emotionally less intense than the stick games, which take place for a few consecutive nights each summer. When interest has been aroused in such a game, someone proposes that it be played and word travels through the community. Gradually people make their way to the designated spot. Gambling generally takes place some distance from town, since experience has taught the Indians that the resident missionary and traders are likely to be displeased if kept awake by the sound of the drumming.

In preparation for gambling someone first cuts eleven tally sticks from green willow branches. These sticks, each about a foot long, are peeled and one end sharpened so that they can be thrust into the ground. The next task is to choose two sides. This is done informally, but the man who is most prominent in the choosing becomes the captain of his team. Each team usually contains an even number of men—from four to six. A youth is then [534] designated to manage the "drum," which may consist of a frying pan, a four gallon oil tin, or a tambourine drum specially prepared for gambling. The drum stick is a plain piece of thick willow.

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883 by performing them. Around puberty the boy's education begins as an independent trap-
[572] per and hunter. Unlike the earlier trips with his father, this is more serious work. If he is acting as the *protégé* of an older man, his winters are occupied in hauling and cutting large supplies of winter wood, hunting rabbits and chicken for daily food, and guiding the toboggan. If the youngster shows himself willing and eager to do and learn, the relationship between the partners is warm and comfortable. If, however, the youth shows a tendency to lie in bed on cold mornings and is slow in executing his expected tasks, his life is plagued and made miserable. Father, uncle, and brothers lecture to him about his laziness and may even plant practical jokes on him. Thus late one morning, while Donald Suza was sitting up in his sleeping place sipping coffee and eating a late breakfast, Old Man planted a thin stick behind the youth's back. When Donald lay down again after his repast the stick snapped, but not before it had sharply jabbed into his back. If the boy is afraid of the bush (in other words, if he has not unlearned the socially patterned attitudes of childhood), he is "talked to" and cajoled. From the life history material collected, it is apparent that adolescents often have to "unlearn" fear of the forest when they begin to travel alone, but this seems to have been successfully accomplished in most men and even in many women.

For their activities adolescents receive more praise than they have hitherto been accustomed to. A girl's sewing is pointed to with pride by a mother or father. A girl who can shoot rabbits, chicken, and porcupine is flattered and may be called "my little boy." A boy who begins to hunt is praised less lavishly for small game (although his bag is always welcome), but his first moose or caribou marks an occasion of considerable excitement. By his ability, diligence, and persistence as a hunter and trapper a youth creates his reputation in the community just as a girl develops her prestige through domestic skills. These attributes prepare the adolescent's way to marriage.

Considered from an overall point of view, adolescent activities range from work to play. They include hunting and fishing trips, bicycle riding, dressmaking, swimming, and horseback riding. At this age the boy's teasing of girls assumes a sexual quality. The adolescents, as has already been described, often show a considerable fondness for younger children but also spend long periods in association with adults. Musical instruments have
[533] been toyed with since a child was nine or ten; adolescence, however, is the time when serious efforts are made to master the violin and guitar. Now, too, boys and girls make their
[273] first shy appearances on the dance floor. They also begin to drink. At first this drinking is casual, representing the acceptance of adults' hospitality, but by sixteen or seventeen, most boys demonstrate a keen appreciation of alcoholic release. Masturbation, although regarded
[839] as highly shameful, is reported to be quite common for both sexes between thirteen and sixteen years of age but disappears once sexual intercourse is initiated. In summer, with the season's opportunities for social interaction, adolescence becomes a time of carefree holidaying. Responsibilities and duties are largely forgotten as the bush is forsaken; life revolves around dancing, music, gambling, drinking, and sexual relations.

883 An important behavior which makes its appearance in the later years of childhood and
572 continues through adolescence to marriage is the formation of intrasexual friendships. Just as one seldom sees an unmarried boy and girl walking or talking together, so rarely is an adolescent seen abroad without a friend or companion of the same sex. Boys, having greater

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present no unusual problems so far as the application of European and American derived explanatory concepts is concerned.[2]

Abnormal states. In this section attention will be directed to reactions arising as a result of the disorganization of the processes by which individuals normally adjust to reality. We will consider some processes of disorganization produced by alcohol and mental illness. A characteristic form of manic-like behavior occurs under conditions of alcoholic intoxication and may be superficially compared to running amok. The following examples are from field notes.

7:22:45 (Lower Post). An Indian woman had been drinking most of the night with white men. Early in the morning she rushed into the ethnographer's cabin, waking his family. Her hair was dishevelled and emotionally she appeared to be in a state of intense agitation. She half fell, half threw herself on the floor alongside our bedding and began sobbing and moaning incoherently. Following attempts to comfort her, she finally quieted down and permitted herself to be led home. No sooner had a few clothes been taken off than she rushed out of the house in her petticoat and stockinged feet. Sobbing anew she rushed into the home of a nearby white man and, climbing into his bed, began to kiss and lie on top of him. The man tried to urge her out of the building but she would not be persuaded. Instead she began to plead, saying: "You want full blooded Injun? You like a full blood Injun? I like you." This began to annoy the white man who swore in anger and ordered her out of his home. At this point the woman reacted with even greater rage and began a stream of obscenity which provoked the man to try to push her out the open door. Once more the ethnographer and his wife sought to calm the woman and finally succeeded in bringing her home. All attempts to get her to bed were resisted. She was too agitated and disorganized to relax. Another white man came into the house and she began to demonstrate affection toward him, calling him "brother-in-law." With great tact this man escaped the situation and the woman was finally persuaded to go to bed. She now sought to send a message to a white trapper who could supply her with liquor. At the same time remorse and shame appeared in her behavior. She began to cry and told the ethnographer's wife not to bother with her, that she wasn't worth any attention. She also revealed how a white man had forced his way into her house the previous evening and insisted she take a few drinks. It was not long before her resistance to drinking had broken down. After this period of self-recrimination she fell asleep.

As the day progressed the distracted woman secured more liquor until she finally wound up in the restaurant where, becoming abusive, she had to be told to leave. For a long time she could not be found but in the evening a boy informed the ethnographer that she was sleeping under some willows in a downpour of rain. When discovered she was suffering from severe chills and complained of a painful headache. Otherwise she was quite subdued except for occasional moaning. After taking hot tea, soup, and aspirin she went to sleep.

8:14:45 (Lower Post). During playful sexual advances made by Edward Prince toward Peter Tom, the latter suddenly became angry, seized Edward, and in a few minutes was choking him in the crook of his arm. Peter called on Edward to surrender, while the latter sought to dig his fingers into his opponent's back. When Old Man and Mrs. Man pulled Peter off, the youth

[2] The conclusions Seligman drew from Ashanti dreams and dream interpretation also largely apply to the Kaska data. Like Ashanti dreams, Kaska dreaming shows wish-fulfillment as well as conflict elements. In interpreting dreams, the Kaska (like the Ashanti and western psychoanalysis) often reject the manifest content, but do not generally attribute meanings that are opposite from the dream's manifest content. Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (1927), 204.

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158 838 579 was trembling violently and sobbing. Mrs. Man finally succeeded in leading him a short distance away. Here the old lady (who was herself intoxicated) tried to comfort Peter, her grandson, and drew his head down on her lap. After a few minutes he calmed down somewhat and moved to rejoin the men. Edward began anew to make obscene and derogatory references about Peter. For a while the latter was content to reply in kind. Suddenly he sprang to his feet again, as did Edward. Each was ready to fight. Taunting one another they moved to level ground above the riverbank where Peter swung in rage but missed his opponent. Old Man and his wife pulled the two apart but Peter tore himself free from his grandmother and went off by himself sobbing and otherwise revealing intense agitation. His unsuppressed rage and hostility expressed themselves when he viciously struck at some willows with his clenched fist. In a little while he was again calm.

158 273 8:22:45 (Bridge). Drinking had been going on for about six hours. River Joe began to abuse Richard Day for sleeping with Irene Wiley (his brother's daughter) and for never giving her food or money. Richard did not reply, but River Joe called on his son-in-law, Louis Maza, telling the latter what was angering him. In an immediate outburst of rage Louis turned on Richard, but the latter quickly fled to Edward Prince's camp, Louis following. Meanwhile, expressing his anger to himself, River Joe began tearing down his niece's mosquito tent, carrying some of her blankets to his own camp. Irene stood off abusing her uncle, calling him "crazy old man" and "crazy dog." At the same time Louis was systematically demolishing Edward Prince's tent, from which all occupants had fled. Louis' rage was not yet abated and he once more set out to look for Richard, rushing into the ethnographer's camp and accusing the latter of harboring the youth Frustrated in his search, Louis now began to direct aggression toward his wife. When Mrs. Maza finally ran off with her classificatory sister, Irene, Louis began a frenzied search for her, lurching through the camp area in a drunken stupor. After he was unable to find her, he announced that he was going to shoot himself and fetched a rifle from his tent. The gun was torn from his grasp and emptied whereupon the wrought up man finally began to calm down.

158 273 579 9:13:45 (Old Kean's Place). Adele Kean had been drinking fruit wine for several hours. During this time she had manifested direct affection toward her husband's brother, John Kean, with whom she had been living for several months. After their guests had gone, she began to demonstrate violent behavior, smashing furniture and other objects in the cabin. In an effort to quiet her, John locked the girl in the building. This still more infuriated her. She removed her brother-in-law's high power rifle from its place on the wall and threatened to shot through the door and kill John. The latter rushed into the cabin and secured the gun. The couple now began to quarrel bitterly, Adele promising John that she would surely kill him on the following day. At this point Irene Wiley returned to the house and tried to quiet the distracted girl. Adele inexplicably directed her aggression toward Irene, and began to tear the latter's hair. In return Irene struck Adele in the face, causing the latter's nose to bleed. John had meanwhile awakened the ethnographer, asking him to stop the girls' fighting. When the ethnographer entered the room Adele lay on the bloody floor sobbing violently and complaining that Irene and John had hit her. With intense anguish she wailed over and over: "Ajya mama! Ajya mama!" In the bunk her child began to cry, but Adele paid no attention. Finally Paulette Donnelly came around and staunched the flow of blood. She then led Adele to the latter's bed where Adele continued to moan and call for her mother.

158 273 While all drinkers do not break down into such catastrophic emotional behavior, alcoholic intoxication has a noticeable effect in releasing emotionality—excitement, aggression,

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and grief. A number of older women are well known for the ease with which alcohol induces melancholy in them; they signify intoxication by beginning to sob for a deceased daughter or son and refuse to be comforted.

Inquiries regarding mental disease in the Kaska area brought reports of several cases in which individuals of both sexes were described as "going crazy." All of these cases follow a pattern of manic-like behavior involving indiscriminate aggression and violence. Mental disorder is ascribed to several causes, including moiety endogamy, family incest, excessive sexuality, and worry.

Mrs. May Wiley was described by Old Man as "a little crazy." "She always making trouble. She always trying to be better than anybody. Mean. She chop the house, she want to fight us. She talk outside. Harry Lang told me: 'Don't go out. Let her come in. We'll fix her.' She chopping outside [at this point Old Man showed the ethnographer a single ax slash on the doorframe of the house in which the latter was living]. She wouldn't go in. When she feel like to fight she always like that. She treat his own kid good but sometimes when she lick her kid. I don't know how many times she pound Irene." Mrs. Wiley died about two years after the incident of the chopping. At the time of her death "they say just kind of quiet; she never speak a word."

Another woman was described who had developed mental illness and killed her grandson. A week after the homicide she died. Her husband, Old Ajen (from whom Iron Creek on the Alaska Highway just below Lower Post is named), had also become "like John Kean; hollered, sang 'doctor,' and he try to kill his wife." He was finally hospitalized in Vancouver where he died. It was said that both husband and wife were Crow and had married despite the rule of exogamy. Mental disorder was ascribed to this offense. It is interesting to note that John Kean was also deemed "crazy" by both his father and his brother, Nitla. Both said that John's aggressive behavior should be reported to the police. Old Kean told the ethnographer that John had several times threatened to kill him.

Old Man identified the late Mrs. River Joe as "not all there," and referred to some of her questions as evidence in point. For example, she couldn't understand why the ethnographer was writing about Indians. On the occasion of a dance in a trader's store, she wanted to know why flour and sugar had to be stored in a dance place. Old Man said she had been "like that" for six years. About 1912, River Joe is reported to have exhibited manic behavior. He sang and cried wildly, went into other people's camps and tried to kill his wife, who had to hide in the bush for a week. He did not try to harm others. In a month he was improved. About two years ago, following his arrest, one of River Joe's sons was taken out of the Kaska area because of manifest mental disorder.

Without attempting to classify these symptoms, it may be pointed out that all but one of these cases of mental breakdown involve mature men and women and otherwise also conform to the manic-depressive syndrome.[14] About twenty years ago, according to Harry Lang, the Nelson Indians were visited by what appears to have been some kind of group

[14] Czaplicka has distinguished two forms of Arctic hysteria among the Siberian aborigines. The classical, compulsively imitative form of the disease, she points out, is common in young people, but the violent form occurs between thirty-five and fifty years of age. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia, A Study in Social Anthropology* (1914), 315-329.

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754 cording to Nitla: "New people like white man; he don't know." A residual faith in witchcraft may persist among the Nelson Indians. As Old Man somewhat unwillingly stated: "Looks like some people still believe it. I know Nick Lang still believe it." Following the dysentery epidemic of 1944 in the Nelson Indian district, Old Man heard Mary Wiley report: "The people pretty bad yet. They talk about witch." During a discussion of the sporadic cases of dysentery occurring in the summer of 1945 one young man spoke up and said: "Too much war; too much blood. That brings out sickness. Too much people killed."

753 757 Some of these theories of disease are at least partially empirically demonstrable. However, even where empirical beliefs apply, as for instance in connection with cold and tuberculosis, they do not necessarily influence therapeutic or hygienic measures. Isolation of the patient is not practiced in conjunction with these illnesses. Little attempt is made to prevent wetting or chilling, except in very cold weather, and in fall children often spend entire days in wet mocassins. Walking long distances in wet brush is avoided whenever possible, but this precaution is generally more a matter of comfort than of preventative medicine.

753 It is worth pointing out that there is a greater tendency to explain illness in empirical terms than to attribute it to supernatural causation. The typical methods of reacting to sickness, however, are to do nothing, use what patent medicines are available, or refer the patient to white medical attention. Although there is a tendency to defend against anxiety and fear by making light of sickness, there can be little question but that it is usually intensely anxiety provoking to the patient. Undoubtedly this fear of illness is related to the inadequate control which the society experiences over disease. It may also be related to the fear of incapacitation, which can be expected to assume serious proportions when an adult is extremely dependent on his own resources to make a living and where mobility is of paramount economic importance.

757 278 Most of the medical therapy performed by the Indians is with the aid of patent medicines obtained from stores. A high degree of faith is invested in such preparations and several assorted bottles are often purchased in the fall to be used for what illnesses appear during the winter. The most commonly used patent medicines include cough remedies, liniment, dysentery remedies, castor oil, stomach tonic, liver pills, fruit salts, and Listerine; the latter, however, is largely consumed in lieu of other alcoholic portables. Lozenges for coughs are often purchased and Vicks Vaporub is popular for colds and chest coughs. Aspirin is not commonly bought. Epsom salts are used to "clean the blood" by removing "bad water" from the intestines. River Joe drank a compound of fruit salts daily for this purpose.

● [273]

757 324 278 Indigenous medication is limited to the use of a few plants products, like balsam pitch, balsam bark, soapberry bush, and willow buds, as well as inhalation, exercise, and the application of heat.

Balsam pitch is firmly believed in for its medicinal properties, but is not readily accessible in the river valleys where most of the people's time is spent. In the fall of 1945, while hunting in the Simpson Mountains, Old Man secured some balsam pitch and put a little in his weak eyes. The pain was intense at first but in the morning he found his sight greatly improved. He did not repeat the treatment, as no more balsam was immediately available. Application of balsam pitch is also recommended for impetigo and other skin diseases. The bark of the balsam tree boiled in water and drunk is said to be an effective cure for coughs

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

156 father, River Joe, suggests that the ethnographer's family looks ill fed. Here we see Old
181 Man's anxious anticipation of the gossip which will be set in operation when the women
787 reach Louis's place and ask for food. River Joe will surely seize upon this lack of food as a sign that Old Man did not take proper care of his white visitors. Old Man knew that Louis and River Joe both had warned the ethnographer about the "poor place" Old Man had to offer. The dream therefore expresses an aggressive wish that his enemies' tongues should become unable to gossip. By reference to the principle of condensation, we understand the first Mrs. Maza to stand for her father, River Joe; for her husband, and for her sister, the present Mrs. Maza. The first Mrs. Maza was "mean"; this fact helps to explain her selection by the dream work in an attempt to characterize all of her referents as unpleasant people. The evil nature of gossip is revealed in the association to the dreaded otter. Up to this point the dream strives to express Old Man's fear of hostility as well as the accompanying aggression against his enemies.

But the dream also refers to Lady Suza. Apparently (in the dream) River Joe had insinuated that Old Man was cohabiting with this woman. During the previous summer, River Joe had unsuccessfully attempted to secure Lady Suza as his wife. Now Old Man "has" her, at least in the sense that she *is* sharing his house. Old Man, however, often complained about this woman eating his grub. Is this dream then also an expression of guilt because of his lack of generosity? That suggestion gains support when the conjunction of Lady Suza and the ethnographer is considered. Old Man its chafing under this woman's stay in his home but the ethnographer is also borrowing food which Old Man cannot refuse to lend. In the dream he resents both the woman's and the ethnographer's drain on his limited resources, but feels guilty about his resentment and also dreads being gossiped about as a stingy host. The denial of sexual interest stands for a denial of general, emotional interest in Lady Suza's well being, an interest that Old Man cannot afford to develop. The episode of the short net, which is a reference to Old Man's reduced powers as a food getter, adds more to the interpretation. He secures only one whitefish. That being the case, how can he be expected to provide for so many people? The last note in the dream, therefore, recognizes the essential and unavoidable truth in the gossip (Old Man's settlement *was* short of grub), which Old Man would like to stop, figuratively by tying up his enemies' mouths.

157 In Kaska society intoxication often results in the release of a portion of the hostility
181 component, and for a number of men such behavior can usually be accurately predicted.
273 Under alcohol rational controls largely disappear, so that an individual is sometimes overwhelmed by the excitement of his unharnessed impulses. This theory explains the outbursts of rage, hostility, and catastrophic reactions that sometimes appear with drinking and of which many people in the community are afraid. Generally, however, drunkenly expressed hostility is not completely undirected. A subliminal measure of control over the labile excitement is maintained, and for this reason drunken aggression is usually focussed upon the continuation of past quarrels, traditional enemies, fancied aggressors, or (as sometimes happens) strangers within the tribal district. It is also noticeable that, following a prolonged series of hostile attacks, swearing, and violence, aggression is finally directed toward the self. A number of men and women were observed who, at the height of intoxication, began to moan, sob, cry for their mothers, or wildly condemned themselves for being "no good."

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Sometimes men turned from such a mixture of self-pity and self-recrimination to outright attempts at suicide.

The dynamics of attempted suicide in Kaska society are extremely interesting, their interpretation contributing much to our understanding of deference. The goal of deference has been defined as warm human relations; from the psychiatric standpoint this is equivalent to saying that the goal of deference is love. Consciously, it must be made clear, the Kaska does not so much want to be liked as not to be disliked. The significance of this statement will be further clarified in connection with emotional isolation. Kaska individuals are afraid of giving offense and arousing hostility in a wide circle of human relationships, because they are anxious lest they be disliked. Evidence comes from the fact that people are readily hurt or offended. Thus, Nitla's fear that his father-in-law would hear a false story about how he had neglected Adele led to his desire to tell his wife's father his side of the story so that the latter would not dislike him. Old Man once expressed a complaint that Louis Mara was receiving visitors from downriver, but that nobody was continuing upriver to his place. Visitors are an assurance of popularity, so that a lack of them suggests being disliked. Unquestionably an attitude which fears dislike equals an unconscious fear of the loss of love plus the desire for love. It is against this theoretical backdrop that we may understand the significance of attempted suicide following a sequence of hostile and uncontrolled behavior. By his aggressive behavior the intoxicated individual violates personal standards of deference, betrays hostility, and earns the loss of love. Guilt follows and, while intoxication continues to reduce the efficiency of the egocentric defenses, he reacts to this guilt by a sudden reversal of activity. Aggression and hostility are deflected toward the self and this reversal leads to such behavior as Edward Prince manifested just before he attempted suicide, complaining that he was all alone in the world without relatives; or else the individual announces his intention of self-destruction. The function of this anouncement is clear. It is a plea for help and a defense guaranteeing that the attempt will be unsuccessful. People immediately rush to stop the suicide. This is the would-be victim's pay-off. In the attention he receives, he is assured of the affectionate regard which a moment ago he so strongly doubted. By this time the attempt is a thing of the past. The gun has been safely thrown away, the anxiety of loss of love and assurances of love pile up in the catharsis of emotion that typically terminates a sequence of hostility. From now on defenses can once more restore the emotional isolation of the personality which alcohol tore down. While all self-pity in intoxication is expressive of an unconscious demand for love, not all such emotional expression is immediately determined by aggression released during intoxication. It may also be a result of the affect hunger which the individual feels more keenly while his defenses have been reduced by alcohol.[29] Some reported episodes of psychotic behavior may also be regarded as representing a disintegration of deference and the exposure of the individual to the excitement of hostile impulses which he can no longer control.

Not the whole of the hostility component is reserved for spectacular explosions under intoxication. We have already dealt sufficiently with gossip to make clear the fact that this form of aggression draws upon a chronic store of hostility. Many people are neither gossips nor do they manifest rage and aggression under intoxication. The majority of people are

[29] Affect hunger will be discussed more fully in connection with emotional isolation (see below, p. 287).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 x 181 is done with extreme reluctance and then usually with the interests of deference closely in view. The criticism of any lack of generosity, however, is a dependency motivated behavior, based on the frustration of this dominant motivation. Excessive generosity, when it appears in a very few Kaska, is probably a reaction formation based on demanding. Just as reception equals the incorporation of love, so giving represents a means of earning love. In psychoanalytical parlance, the desire to incorporate is replaced by the desire to be passively incorporated. The emotion invested in the potlatch is also partly derived from the fact that the central feature of this festival is the giving away of symbolically precious food. Potlatching for the hosts is a public demonstration of the cultural ideal of generosity and in turn gratifies the guests' unconscious passive receptive needs.

157 x 181 593 Emotional dependence is one of the outstanding features of the marriage relationship. This is revealed in the fact that many men are reluctant to separate themselves from their wives, in the poignancy of a widower's loneliness, and in the jealousy manifested by both spouses. Our evidence suggests this dependence to intensify with time. Among old people, where we find the closest bonds between spouses, strong dependence is expressed in attitudes of mutual care, protection, and worry. Mrs. Man was reluctant to allow her husband to leave camp alone for any length of time. Old Man showed himself as much preoccupied with his wife's health and symptoms as with his own. Marriage, therefore, represents a pattern of indulging passivity and must also be estimated for its role in undermining goals of individualism and self-sufficiency.

Another instance of intrafamilial dependence is found in the attitudes of parents stressing their future economic dependence on children, and only secondarily admitting the latter's reliance on parents. Such unconsciously motivated attitudes not only do a great deal to sustain the emotionally isolating tendencies of the society, but in turn set up dependency motivated behavior in childhood, like food leeching and the theft of small objects—"symbolic thefts of love."[42] We will return to these aspects of children's behavior in describing the development of Kaska ethos.

157 x 181 ● 273 A study of the cultural background will reveal other situations whose emotional qualities suggest the operation of dependence. Several of these may be briefly pointed out, although the most we can do is to point to future problems for research. Thus one is tempted to raise the question of a relationship between drinking and passive receptive oral trends. The fact that alcohol promotes passive reactions in these people cannot be doubted. Old Man often related how drinking quickly helped him forget his illness and debility. Alcohol, furnishing a relaxation of overtaxing self-assertion represents a means of withdrawing from the press of life. In his discussion of basic personality in western society, Kardiner pointed

157 x 181 533 out that the nostalgic themes of contemporary music represents the idealization of the protective mother.[43] A similar function may be suggested for the music which is most popular

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thing of the dynamics of this role and in appointing "chiefs" to direct fur production provided the nominees with flour and tobacco for free distribution. At present the government neglects such traditional and psychologically grounded means of defining the chief's status.

[42] Levy, *Psychopathic Personality and Crime* (1942), 100.

[43] Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (1945), 369.

437 chiefly those woven of cedar bark; a few dug out ca-
439 noes (some large), and tobacco (especially in later days. The tobacco was of at least two kinds, a trade twist tobacco, and a leaf or loose kind supposed to be grown by the Tlingit); some pipes or hard wood and metal; liquor (especially rum in later days), dressed skins of moose during the period when moose were scarce in Tahltan country. A mooseskin at this time was worth
[435] five beaver skins. /Other items received were/ some iron tools such as awls, chisels, gimlets, etc., in later days; some woven baskets of Tlingit make; some bark baskets specially used for boilers or kettles. It was said that most of these came from Chilkat country or north of there. The first intoxicant the
437 Tahltan saw was a keg of rum procured by the Tlingit
439 from White traders on the coast and brought up to the
273 Tahltan at so much a cup. Some time afterwards for a period of years the Tlingit brought rum. Latterly they made special trips in canoes to Victoria, B.C., to procure it. They brought kegs of rum, generally small, but some of them quite large, all the way up the coast and then up the Stikine a distance altogether of over seven hundred miles. A great many skins were paid by the Tahltan for large unbroached kegs, so many in fact that no single man could afford to buy one; usually a clan clubbed together in purchasing one. As the Tahltan country was rich in furs and the Tahltan besides handled most of the Kaska fur the business done by the Tlingit was very lucrative.

437 The Tahltan also traded a good deal with the
439 Kaska. They bought most of their /the Kaska's/ furs and resold them to the Tlingit. Besides furs they bought some robes and dressed caribou and moose skins from the Kaska. Owing to the distance and the fact that articles were carried for the most part on the back, trading was chiefly in light and valuable things. The lighter and more valuable furs, skins and robes were those generally bought from the Kaska: fox, lynx, marten, fisher, mink, ermine. Beaver being a staple fur was in demand.

It seems a little copper was procured from the Kaska. The articles bartered for the above were chiefly light valuable things procured from the Tlingit, such as dentalium and haliotis shells, shell knives, ornaments such as bracelets, earrings, etc., beads and trinkets in later days, stone axes, copper and iron in small numbers or quantities. Some tobacco and ammunition in later days, etc.